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DR. Sherlock's  
**DEFENCE**  
OF HIS  
CASE of ALLEGIANCE, &c.

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DR. S. H. LOCKE'S  
FATHER CONFIDANT  
DIFFERENCE

OF THE  
CASE OF ALLEGANCE, &c.  
AND THE  
MATTERS OF THE

THE  
C A S E  
OF THE  
A L L E G I A N C E  
DUE TO

**Sovereign Powers,**

Further Consider'd, and

D E F E N D E D:  
WITH

A more particular Respect to the Doctrine of  
NON-RESISTANCE and PASSIVE-OBEDIENCE.

TOGETHER,  
With a Seasonable Perswasive to our New Dissenters.

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Master of the *Temple.*

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THE

ALLEGED

CONFIDENTIAL

REPORT

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THE

CONFIDENTIAL



THE  
C A S E  
OF THE  
ALLEGIANCE  
DUE TO  
**Sovereign Powers,**  
DEFENDED, &c.

**T**Here is nothing more evident, than that GOD set up a *Supreme* and Sovereign Power in the Jewish Nation, as could not, and ought not to be resisted by the Fundamental Laws of their Government ; not that the Supreme and Sovereign Power is alwaies to be in a single Person, but that where-ever it is, it is irresistible ; and that whenever this Supreme Power by the Laws of the Nation is invested in a single person, such a Prince must not, upon any Pretence whatsoever, be resisted.

To prove this, I shall begin with Examples out of the Old Testament.

The first Governour God set over the Children of *Israel*, when he brought them out of the Land of *Egypt*, was *Moses* ; and I think I need not prove how sacred and irresistible his

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Authority

Authority was. This is sufficiently evident in the Rebellion of *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, against *Moses* and *Aaron*, when God caused the Earth to open her Mouth and swallow them up, *Numb.* 16. And least this should be thought an extraordinary case, *Moses* and *Aaron* being extraordinary persons, immediately appointed by God, and governed by his immediate Direction, the Apostle *St. Jude* alleges this Example against those in his daies, who were turbulent and factious, who despised Dominions, and spake evil of Dignities, *Jud.* v. 11. which he could not have done, had not this Example extended to all ordinary as well as extraordinary Cases; had it not been a lasting Testimony of God's Displeasure against all those who oppose themselves against the Sovereign Powers. But *Moses* was not alwaies to rule over them, and therefore God expressly provides for a Succession of Sovereign Powers, to which they must all submit. The ordinary Sovereign Power of the Jewish Nation after *Moses's* death, was devolved either on the High Priest, or those extraordinary persons, whom God was pleased to raise up, such as *Jeshua*, and the several Judges, till in *Samuel's* daies it settled in their Kings. For, as for the Jewish *Sanhedrim*, whose Power is so much extolled by the Jewish Writers, who are all of a late date, many years since the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and therefore not competent Witnesses of what was done so many Ages before; it does not appear from any Testimony of Scripture, that there was any such Court of Judicature, till after their return from the Babylonish Captivity.

But yet God took care to secure the Peace and good Government of the Nation, by appointing such a Power as should receive the last Appeals, and whose Sentence in all Controversies should be final and uncontrollable; as you may see in the 17th. of *Deut.* 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. ver. There were inferior Magistrates and Judges appointed in their several Tribes and Cities, which *Moses* did by the advice of *Jeshua* his Father-in-law, and by the approbation of God, *Exod.* 18. But as the Supreme Power was still reserved in the hands of *Moses*, while he lived, so it is here secured to the High Priest or Judges after his death; for, it is expressly appointed, That if those inferior Judges could not determine the Controversie, they should come unto the Priests and Levites; that is, the Priests of the

the Tribe of Levi, (who by the 12. ver. appears only to be the High Priests) and to the Judge that shall be in those days; that is, if it shall be at such a time, when there is an extraordinary Judge raised by God (for there were not alwaies such Judges in Israel; as is evident to any one who reads the Book of Judges) and of them they should enquire, and they shall shew the sentence of judgment; and thou shalt do according to the sentence which they of that place (which the Lord shall chuse) shall shew thee; and thou shalt observe to do according to all they shall inform thee.

Where the Place which God shall chuse, signifies the Place which he should appoint for the Ark of the Covenant, and for the Levitical Worship; which was the place where the High Priest, and the chief Judge or Ruler of Israel, when there was any such person, had their ordinary residence; which was first at Shilo, and afterwards at Jerusalem.

The Authority of the chief Priests, or of the Judge, when there was one, in those days, was as absolute Authority as the most absolute Monarch in the World can challenge, v. 12. That Disobedience to their last & final Determination, whatever the cause be, shall be punished with Death: And what place can there be for Resistance in such a Constitution of Government as this? It is said indeed, in v. 11. according to the sentence of the Law, which they shall teach thee, and according to the judgment that they shall tell thee, thou shalt do. And hence some conclude, that they were not bound to abide by their Sentence, nor were punishable if they did not, but only in such cases, when they gave Sentence according to the Law of God. But these Men do not consider, that the matter in controversie is supposed to be doubtful, and such as could not be determined by the inferior Courts, and therefore is submitted to the decision of the Supreme Judge, and as he determined, so they must do, and no man, under the penalty of Death, must presume to do otherwise: Which takes away all liberty of judging from private persons, though this Supreme Judge might possibly mistake in his Judgment, as all human Judicatures are liable to mistakes; but it seems God Almighty thought it necessary, that there should be some final Judgment, from whence there should be no Appeal, notwithstanding the possibility of a mistake in it.

So that there was a *Supreme* and *Sovereign*, that is, unaccountable and irresistible Power in the Jewish Nation appointed by God himself; for indeed it is not possible that the publick Peace and Security of any Nation should be preserved without it. And I think it is as plain, That when the Jews would have a King, their Kings were invested with this *supreme* and *irresistible* Power; for when they desired a King, they did not desire a meer nominal and titular King, but a King to judge them, and to go out before them, and fight their Battels; that is, a King who had the *Supreme* and *Sovereign* Authority, 1 Sam. 8. 6, 19, 20. a King who should have all that Power of Government, excepting the peculiar Acts of the Priestly Office, which either their High Priest or their Judges had before.

And therefore, when *Samuel* tells them what shall be the manner of their King, v. 11. though what he saies does necessarily suppose the translation of the *sovereign* and *irresistible* Power to the Person of their King, yet it does not suppose that the King had any New Power given him, more than what was exercised formerly by their Priests and Judges. He does not deter them from chusing a King, because a King should have greater Power, and be more unaccountable and irresistible than their other Rulers were; for *Samuel* himself had had as *sovereign* and *irresistible* a Power as any King, being the *Supreme* Judge in *Israel*, whose Sentence no man could disobey or contradict, but he incurred the Penalty of Death, according to the *Mosaical* Law. But the reason why he dissuades them from chusing a King, was because the external *Pomp* and *Magnificence* of Kings was like to be very chargeable and oppressive to them. He will take your Sons, and appoint them for himself, for his Chariots, and to be his Horsemen, and some shall run before his Chariots. And he will appoint him Captains over thousands, and Captains over fifties, and will set them to ear his Ground, and to reap his Harvest. And thus in several particulars he acquaints them what Burthens and Exactions they will bring upon themselves by setting up a King, which they were then free from: And if any Prince should be excessive in such Exactions, yet they had no way to help themselves: They must not resist, nor rebel against him, nor expect, that what Inconvenience they might find in Kingly Government, God would relieve and deliver them from it, when once they had chose a King: To shall cry out in that day, because of your King which

*ye have chosen you, and the Lord will not hear you in that day, v. 18.* That is, God will not alter the Government for you again; how much soever you may complain of it.

This, I say, is a plain Proof, that there Kings were invested with that Sovereign Power which must not be resisted, though they oppress their Subjects to maintain their own State, and the Grandeur and Magnificence of their Kingdom. But I cannot think that these words contain the Original Grant and Charter of Regal Power, but only the translation of that Power which was formerly in their *High Priests* or *Judges*, to *Kings*. Kings had no more Power than their other Governours had; for there can be no Power greater than that which is irresistible; but th's Power in the hands of Kings was likely to be more burthensome and oppressive to them, than it was in the hands of their Priests and Judges, by reason of their different way of living; which is the only Argument *Samuel* uses to dissuade them from transferring the *Supreme and Sovereign Power* to *Princes*. And therefore I rather chuse to translate *Mishpat*, as our Translators do, by the manner of the King, than as other learned men do, by the right of the King, thereby understanding the Original Charter of Kingly Power: for it is not a Regal Power which *Samuel* here blames, which is no other but the very same which he himself had, while he was *Supreme Judge of Israel*; but their pompous way of living, which would prove very oppressive and burthensome to them, and be apt to make them complain, who had not been used to such Exactions.

Let us now proceed to consider, how sacred and irresistible the Persons and Authority of Kings were under the *Jewish Government*; and there cannot be a plainer Example of this, than in the Case of *David*. He was himself anointed to be King after *Saul's death*, but in the mean time was grievously persecuted by *Saul*, pursued from one place to another, with a design to take away his Life. How now does *David* behave himself in this extremity? What course does he take to secure himself from *Saul*? Why, he takes the only course that is left a Subject; he flies for it, and hides himself from *Saul* in the Mountains and Caves of the Wilderness; and when he found he was discovered in one place, he removes to another: He kept Spies upon *Saul*, to observe his motions, not that he might meet him to give him Battel, or to take him at an advantage, but that he



he might keep out of his way, and not fall unawares into his hands.

Well, but this was no thanks to *David*, because he could do no otherwise. He was too weak for *Saul*, and not able to stand against him; and therefore he had no other Remedy but Flight. But yet we must consider, that *David* was a Man of War, he slew *Goliath*, and fought the Battels of *Israel* with great success; he was an admired and beloved Captain, which made *Saul* so jealous of him; the Eyes of *Israel* were upon him for their next King, and how easily might he have raised a potent and formidable Rebellion against *Saul*? But he was so far from this, that he invites no man to his assistance; and when some came uninvited, he made no use of them in an offensive or defensive War against *Saul*. Nay, when God delivered *Saul* two several times into *David's* hands, that he could as easily have killed him, as have cut off the skirts of his garment at Engedi, 1 Sam. 24. or as have taken that spear away which stuck in the ground at his bolster, as he did in the bill of Hachilah, 1 Sam. 26. Yet he would neither touch *Saul* himself, nor suffer any of the People that were with him to do it, though they were very importunate with him for liberty to kill *Saul*; nay, though they urged him with an Argument from Providence, that it was a plain Evidence that it was the will of God that he should kill *Saul*, because God had now delivered his Enemy into his hands, according to the promise He had made to *David*, 1 Sam. 24. 4. 26. ch. ver. 8. We know what use some men have made of this Argument of Providence, to justify all the Villanies they had a mind to act: but *David*, it seems, did not think that an opportunity of doing evil, gave him license and authority to do it. Opportunity, we say, makes a Thief, and it makes a Rebel, and it makes a Murderer. No man can do any Wickedness, which he has no opportunity of doing; and if the Providence of God, which puts such opportunities into Mens hands, justifies the wickedness they commit, no man can be chargeable with any Guilt whatever he does; and certainly opportunity will as soon justify any other Sin as Rebellion, and the Murder of Princes. We are to learn our Duty from the Law of God, not from his Providence; at least, this must be a settled Principle, that the Providence of God will never justify any action which this Law forbids.

And therefore, notwithstanding this opportunity which God had put into his hands to destroy his Enemy, and to take the Crown for his Reward, *David* considers his Duty, remembers, that though *Saul* were his Enemy, and that very unjustly, yet he was the *Lord's Anointed*. The Lord forbid, saies he, that I should do this unto my Master, the *Lord's Anointed*, to stretch forth my hand against him, seeing he is the *Lord's Anointed*. Nay, he was so far from taking away his Life, that his Heart smote him for cutting off the Skirt of his Garment. And we ought to observe the Reason *David* gives, why he durst not hurt *Saul*, Because he was the *Lord's Anointed*; which is the very Reason the Apostle gives in the 13. *Rom. 12.* Because the Powers are ordained of God, and he that resisteth the Power, resisteth the ordinance of God. For to be anointed of God, signifies no more, than that he was made King by God. Thus *Josephus* expounds being anointed by God, and so doth *Barnabas* at *Antioch*, one who had the Kingdom bestowed on him by God; and in another place, One who was ordained by God: For it seems by this Phrase, he looked upon the external Ceremony of Anointing, to be like Imposition of Hands, which in other cases consecrated Persons to peculiar Offices: For this external Unction was only a visible sign of God's designation of them to such an Office; and when that was plain, they were as much God's Anointed without this visible Unction as with it. *Cyrus* is called God's Anointed, though he never was anointed by any Prophet, but only designed for his Kingdom by Prophecy, 45. *Isa. 1.* And we never read in Scripture, that any Kings had this external Unction, who succeeded in the Kingdom by right of Inheritance, unless the Title and Succession were doubtful; and yet they were the Lord's Anointed too, that is, were placed in the Throne by him. So that this is an eternal Reason against resisting *Sovereign Princes*, that they are set up by God; and invested with his Authority, and therefore their Persons and Authority are sacred.

But yet there are some men, who from the example of *David*, think they can prove the lawfulness of a defensive, though not an offensive War. For *David*, when he fled from *Saul*, made himself Captain of four hundred men, 1 *Sam. 22. 2.* which number soon encreased to six hundred, 1 *Sam. 23. 13.* and

and still every day encreased by new additions, 1 *Chron.* 12.1. Now, why should he entertain these men, but to defend himself against the Forces of *Saul*? that is, to make a defensive War whenever he was assaulted by him.

1. In answer to this, I observe, That *David* invited none of these men after him, but they came Voluntiers after a beloved Captain and General; which shews how formidable he could have made himself, when such numbers resorted to him of their own accord.

2. When he had them, he never used them for any Hostile Acts against *Saul*, or any of his Forces; he never stood his ground, when he heard *Saul* was coming, but alwaies fled, and his Men with him; Men who were never used to flee, and were very ready to have served him against *Saul* himself, would he have permitted them. And, I suppose they will not call this a Defensive War, to flee before an Enemy, and to hide themselves in Caves and Mountains; and yet this was the only Defensive War which *David* made with all his Men about him: Nay, all that he would make, according to his professed Principles, That it was not lawful to stretch out his hand against the Lord's Anointed. And when these men are pursued, as *David* was, by an enraged and jealous Prince, we will not charge them with Rebellion, though they flee before him by thousands in company.

3. Yet there was sufficient reason why *David* should entertain these men, who voluntarily resorted to him, though he never intended to use them against *Saul*; for some of them served for Spies, to observe *Saul's* motions, that he might not be surprized by him, but have timely notice to make his escape. And the very presence of such a number of men about him, without any hostile act, preserved him from being seized on by some officious persons, who otherwise might have delivered him into *Saul's* hands. And he being anointed by *Samuel* to be King after *Saul's* death, this was the first Step to his Kingdom, to have such a Retinue of valiant Men about him; which made his advancement to the Throne more easie, and discouraged any opposition which might otherwise been made against him; as we see it proved in the event, and have  
reason

reason to believe that it was thus ordered by God, for that very end. It is certain, that *Gad* the Prophet, and *Abiathar* the Priest, who was the only man who escaped the fury of *Saul*, when he destroyed the Priests of the Lord, were in *David's* Retinue; and that *David* enterprized nothing, without first asking Counsel of God: But he who had anointed him to be King, now draws Forces after him, which after *Saul's* death should facilitate his advancement to the Kingdom.

2dly, It is objected further, That *David* intended to have stayed in *Keilah*, and to have fortified it against *Saul*, had not he been informed, That the Men of the City would have saved themselves, by delivering him up to *Saul*, 1 Sam. 23. Now, to maintain any strong Hold against a Prince, is an act of War; though it be but a defensive War. And I grant it is so, but deny that there is any Appearance, that *David* ever intended any such thing. *David* and his Men, by God's appointment and direction, had fought with the Philistines, and smote them with a great slaughter, and saved *Keilah* from them; and as it is probable, did intend to have stayed some time in *Keilah*: But *David* had heard that *Saul* intended to come against *Keilah*, to destroy the City, and take him, and enquires of the Lord about it, and receives an answer, That *Saul* would come against the City. He enquires again, whether the Men of *Keilah* would deliver him up to *Saul*, and was answered, That they would. And upon this, he and his Men leave *Keilah*, and betake themselves to the strong Holds in the Wilderness.

But now, it is likely, That if *David* had had any design to have fortified *Keilah* against *Saul*, he would have been afraid of the Men of the City: He had six hundred Men with him in *Keilah*, a victorious Army, which had lately destroyed the Philistines, who oppressed them; and therefore could easily have kept the Men of *Keilah* too in awe, if he had pleased, and have put it out of their power to deliver him to *Saul*. But all that *David* designed was, to have stayed there as long as he could, and, when *Saul* had drawn nigh, to have removed to some other place: But when he understood the Treacherous Inclinations of the Men of *Keilah*, and being resolved against all

acts of Hostility, he hastened his remove, before *Saul* drew near.

So that these men must find some other Example than that of *David*, to countenance their Rebellion against their Prince: for *David* never rebelled; never fought against *Saul*; but when he had a very potent Army with him, he and his Men alwaies fled, and hid themselves in the Wilderness and places of difficult access.

The Sum is this: God, from the very beginning, set up such a Supreme and Sovereign Power in the *Jewish Nation*, as could not, as ought not to be resisted. This Power was at first in the hands of *Moses*, and when *Korah* and his company rebelled against him, God vindicated his Authority by a miraculous Destruction of those Rebels; for the Earth opened her mouth and swallowed them up. Afterwards, when they came into *Canaan*, the ordinary Exercise of his Power was in the High Priests and Judges, whom God raised up, whose Sentence and Judgment was final, and must not be resisted, under penalty of death, when the Children of *Israel* desired a King, this sovereign and irresistible Power was transferred to him, and settled in his Person. *Saul* was the first King who was chosen by God, and anointed by *Samuel*; but for his Disobedience, was afterwards rejected by God, and *David* the Son of *Jesse*, was anointed King to succeed after *Saul's* death: But in the meantime *David* was persecuted by *Saul*, who sought after his Life. And though he himself was anointed by God, and *Saul* rejected by him, yet he durst not persist nor oppose him, nor defend himself by force against the most unjust violence, but fled for his life, and hid himself in Caves and Mountains. Nay, when *Saul* was delivered into his hands by God, he durst not stretch out his hand against the Lord's Anointed.

Let us now consider what Christ and his Apostles taught and practised about Obedience to Sovereign Princes; whereby we may learn how far Christians are obliged by these Laws of Subjection and Non-Resistance.

1. I shall consider the Doctrine of Christ, while he lived on Earth: And here are several things very fit to be observed.

First, We



*First*, We have no reason to suspect, that Christ would alter the Rights of *Sovereign Power*, and the measures of Obedience and Subjection, which were fixt and determin'd by God himself. This was no part of his Commission; to change the external Forms and Politics of Civil Governments, which is an act of Secular Power and Authority, and does not belong to a *Spiritual Prince*. He who would not undertake to decide a petty Controversie, or to divide an Inheritance between two contending Brethren; 12. *Luk.* 13, 14. can we think that he would attempt any thing of that vast consequence, as the Changes and Alterations of Civil power, which would have unsettled the Fundamental Constitutions of all the Governments of the World at that time?

Our Saviour tells us, *That he came not to destroy the Law and the Prophets, but to fulfill it*; to fill it up, to compleat and perfect it; *Mat.* 5. 17. that is, to fulfill the ancient Types and Prophecies in his own person, to perfect an external and ceremonial by a real and Evangelical Righteousness; to perfect the Moral Laws with new instances and degrees of Virtue; but He abrogated no Moral Law, and therefore not the Laws of Obedience and Subjection to Princes, which has always been reduced to the Fifth Commandment. Nay, he abrogated no Laws, but by perfecting and fulfilling them; and therefore he could make no alteration in the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*, which is as perfect Subjection as can or ought to be paid to Sovereign Princes. His Kingdom was not of this World, as he told *Pilate*: Though he was a King, he neither was an Enemy nor Rival to *Cæsar*; but had he absolved his Disciples from their Obedience to Princes, had he made it in any case lawful to Resist (which was so expressly forbid the Jews by God himself, and which is such a contradiction to the very Nation of Sovereign Power) he had been somewhat worse than a Rival to all the Princes of the Earth; for though he had set up a Kingdom of his own, yet he had pulled down theirs. Whereas he took great care that his Religion should give no disturbance to the World, nor create any reasonable Jealousies and Suspicions to Princes, who had been very excusable for their aversion to Christianity, had he invaded the Rights and Royalties of their Crowns.

This makes it very improbable, that our Saviour should make any Alterations in Civil Powers, or abridge the *Rights of Sovereignty*; which is so foreign to his design of coming into the World, and so incongruous to the Person which he sustained; and yet he could not alter the Duties of Subjects, but he must alter the Rights of Princes too; he must take away the Sovereign Power of Princes, at the same time that he makes it lawful for Subjects in any case whatsoever to resist. We may safely then conclude, That our Saviour has left the Government of the World as he found it: He has indeed given such admirable Laws, as will teach Princes to govern, and Subjects to obey better; which is the most effectual way to secure the publick Peace and Happiness, to prevent the Oppression of Subjects, and Rebellions against Princes: but he has not interposed in new modelling the Governments of the World, which is not of such consequence as some men imagine. It is not the external form of Government, but the Fatherly Care, and Prudence, and Justice of Governours, and the dutiful Obedience of Subjects, which can make any People happy. If Princes and Subjects be good Christians, they may be happy under most forms of Government; if they be not, they can be happy under none. Had our Saviour given Subjects Liberty to Resist, to Depose, to Murder *Tyrannical Princes*, he had done them no kindness at all; for, to give liberty to Subjects to Resist, is only to proclaim an Universal License to Factions and Seditions, and Civil Wars; and if any Man can think this such a mighty Blessing to the World, yet methinks it is not a Blessing proper for the *Prince of Peace* to give: But he who instructs *Princes* to Rule as God's Ministers and Vicegerents, and to express a Fatherly Care and Concerment for the Happiness of their Subjects, and that teaches Subjects to reverence and obey their Princes, as the Image of God, and quietly submit and yield to his Authority, and that enforces these Laws, both on Princes and Subjects, in the Name and Authority of God, and from the consideration of the future Judgment, when Princes who abuse their Power, shall give an account of it to their great Master, when Subjects who resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation; and those who patiently and quietly suffer for God's sake, shall have their injuries redress'd, and their Obedience rewarded: I say, such a person

for as this takes a more effectual course, to reform the Abuses of the Civil Power, and to preserve good Government in the World, than all our wise Politicians and State-menders, who think to reform the Government of the World by some State-Spells and Charms, without reforming those who govern, and those who are governed. This our Saviour has done, and this is the best thing that could be done, nay, this was all that he could do in this matter. He never usurpt any Civil Power and Authority, and therefore could not new model the Government of the World: He never offers any external Force and Compulsion to make Men obey his Laws, and therefore neither forces Princes to Rule well, nor Subjects to Obey; but he has taken the same care of the Government of the World, as he has done of all the other Duties of Piety and Virtue; that is, he has given very good Laws, and has threatened those that break them with eternal punishments; and as the Laws and Religion of our Saviour prevail, so will the Governments of the World mend, without altering the Model and Constitution of them.

2. But yet we have some positive Evidence what our Saviour taught about Obedience to the Higher Powers; I shall give you two Instances of it, which are as plain and express as can be desired.

First, The first is that Answer our Saviour gave to the Pharisees and Herodians, when they consulted together to intangle him in his Talk, *Mr. 22. 15.* &c. they come to him with great Ceremony and Address, as to an infallible Oracle, to consult him in a very weighty Case of Conscience. They express a great esteem and assurance of his Sincerity, and Faithfulness, and Courage, as well as of his unerring Judgment, in declaring the Will of God to them. *Master, we know that thou art true, and teachest the way of God in truth, neither carest thou for any Man, for thou regardst not the person of Man: that is, thou wilt not conceal nor pervert the Truth for fear nor favour: and then they propose an insinuating Question to him, Tell us therefore, what thinkest thou? is it lawful to give Tribute to Caesar or not? I say thou wast impossible that he should give any Answer to this, which would not make*

him obnoxious, either to the Roman Governours, if he denied that the Jews might lawfully pay Tribute to *Caesar*, or to the Pharisees and people, if he affirmed that they might; for there was a very potent Faction among them, who thought it unlawful for the Jews to own the Authority or Usurpations of any *Foreign Prince*, or to pay Tribute to him, as to their King. They being expressly forbid by their Law, *to set a stranger over them for their King, who is not their Brother*, (i. e.) who is not a natural Jew, *Deut. 17. 19.* and it seems they could not distinguish between their own voluntary Act in chusing a Stranger for their King, (which was indeed forbid by their Law) and their submitting to a *Foreign Prince*, when they were conquered by him. Our Saviour, who knew their wicked intention in all this, that they did not come with an honest design to be instructed in their Duty, but to seek an Advantage against him, expresses some indignation at it; *Why tempt ye me, ye Hypocrites?* But yet, to return them an Answer to that their Question, he bids them shew him the *Tribute-Money*, that is, the Money in which they used to pay Tribute, and enquires whose Image and Superscription it had; for coining of Money was as certain a Mark of Sovereignty, as making Laws, or the power of the Sword. Well, they acknowledge that the Image and Superscription on the Tribute-Money was *Caesar's*; upon which he replies, *Render therefore unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's.* The plain meaning of which Answer is this, That since by the very Impression on their Money, it is evident, that *Caesar* is their Sovereign Lord, they must render to him all the Rights of Sovereignty, among which, *Tribute* is one, as *St. Paul* tells us, *Render therefore unto all their dues, tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour, Rom. 13. 7.* Whatever is due to *Sovereign Princes*, and does not interfere with their Duty to God, that they must give to *Caesar*, who at this time was their Sovereign. In which Answer there are several things observable.

1. That our Saviour does not examine into *Caesar's* Right, nor how he came by this Sovereign Power; but as he found him in possession of it, so he leaves him, and requires them to render to him all the Rights of Sovereignty.

2. That

2. That he does not particularly determine what the things of *Cæsar* are, that is, what his *Right* is, as a *Sovereign Prince*. Hence some men conclude, that this Text can prove nothing; that we cannot learn from it, what our Saviour's Judgment was in this Point; that it is only a subtil Answer, which those who ask the Question could make nothing of; which was a proper return to their ensnaring Question. This I think is as great a Reproach to our Saviour, as they can well cast upon him, that He, who was the Wisdom of God, the great Prophet and Teacher of Mankind, should return as Sophistical and doubtful Answers as the *Heathen Oracles* and that in a Case, which required, and would admit a very plain Answer. It is true, many times our Saviour, when He discours'd of what concern'd His own Person, or the Mysteries of His Kingdom which were not fit at that time to be publish'd in plain terms, us'd a Mystical Language; as when he call'd his Body the *Temple*, or he taught them by *Parables*, which were not obvious at the first hearing, but still what he said, had a certain and determin'd sense, and what was obscure and difficult, he explain'd privately to his Apostles, that in due time they might explain it to others; but to assert, as these men must do, that Christ gave them such an answer as signified nothing, and which he intended they should understand nothing by, shews that they are not so civil to our Saviour as these *Pharisees* and *Herodians* were, who at least own'd in compliance, *Master we know that thou art true, and teachest the way of God in Truth, neither carest thou for any Man, for thou regardest not the Person of Men.*

But certainly the *Pharisees* did believe, that there was something in our Saviour's answer, for they marvelled, and left him, and went their way: And yet those who had wit enough to ask such ensnaring Questions, could not be so dull as to be put off with a Sophistical Answer, (an Art below the gravity of our Saviour's Person and Office) but would have urg'd it a little farther, had they not been sensible, that they were sufficiently answer'd, and had nothing to reply.

For indeed can any thing be plainer than our Saviour's Answer? They ask him whether it were lawful to pay Tribute to *Cæsar*? he does not indeed in express words say, that they should pay Tribute to *Cæsar*, but he gives them such an Answer, as withal convinc'd them of the Reason and Necessity of it.



it. He asks whose Image and superscription was on the Tribute-Money; they tell him *Cæsars*; from whence he infers, *Render therefore unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. Therefore? Wherefore?* because the Tribute-Money had *Cæsars* Image on it; therefore they must render to *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsars*; which certainly signifies that Tribute was one of those things which belonged to *Cæsar*, and must be rendred to him, as appeared by having *Cæsar's* Image: Not as if every thing that had *Cæsar's* Mark and Stamp on it, did belong unto *Cæsar*, and must be given to him, (as some Men profanely enough, how wittily soever they imagine, burlesque and Ridicule our Saviour's Answer) for at this Rate all the Money of the Empire, which bore his Image, was *Cæsars*; but the Money which was stampd with *Cæsar's* Image, and was the current Money of the Nation, was a plain sign, as I observed before, that he was their Sovereign, and paying Tribute was a known Right due to Sovereign Princes; and therefore the very Money which they used, with *Cæsar's* Image on it, resolv'd that Question, not only of the lawfulness, but the necessity of paying Tribute: and this was so plain an Answer, that the Pharisees were ashamed of their Question, and went away without making any Reply; for they no more dared to deny that *Cæsar* was their King, than they thought he dared either to own or deny the lawfulness of paying Tribute to *Cæsar*. And this was all the subtilty of our Saviour's Answer.

But then, our Saviour not confining his Answer merely to the Case of paying Tribute, but answering in general, That we must render to *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsars*; extends this to all the Rights of Sovereign Princes, and so becomes a standing Rule in all Cases, to give to *Cæsar* what is *Cæsar's* due. And when our Saviour commands us to render to *Cæsar* the things which are *Cæsars*; without telling us what *Cæsars* things are, this is so far from making his Answer doubtful and ambiguous, and of no use in this present Controversie, that it suggests to us three plain and natural Consequences, which are sufficient to end this whole Dispute.

1. That our Saviour did not intend to make any alteration in the Rights of Sovereignty, but what Rights he found Sovereign Princes possess of, he leaves them in the quiet possession

on of; for had he intended to make any change in this matter, he would not have given such a general Rule, to *render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's*, without specifying what these things are.

2. And therefore he leaves them to the known Laws of the Empire, to determine what is *Cæsar's Right*. Whatever is essential to the Nation of Sovereign Power, whatever the Laws and Customs of Nations determine to be *Cæsar's Right*, that they must render to him; for he would make no alteration in this matter. So that subjection to *Princes*, and *Non-Resistance*, is as plainly determined by our Saviour in this Law, as paying of *Tribute*; for Subjection and *Non-Resistance* is as essential a Right of *Sovereign Power*, and as inseparable from the notion of it, as any thing can be. So it is acknowledged by the Laws and Customs of Nations; and so it is determined by the Apostle *St. Paul*; as I shall shew hereafter.

3. I observe farther, That when our Saviour enjoins our Duty to our *Prince*, with our Duty to our *God*, *render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's*, and to *God*, *the things which are God's*. He excepts nothing from *Cæsar's Rights*, which by the Laws of Nations is due to Sovereign Princes, but what is a violation of, and an encroachment on God's Right and Sovereignty; that is, we must pay all that Obedience and Subjection to Princes, which is consistent with our Duty to God. This is the only limit our Saviour sets to our Duty to Princes. If they should command us to renounce our Religion, and worship false gods; if they should challenge Divine Honours to themselves, as some of the Roman Emperors did; this we must not do, because it is to renounce Obedience and Subjection to God, who has a more Sovereign power, and a greater Right in us than our Prince: But all *Active and Passive Obedience*, which is consistent with a good Conscience towards God, and required of us by the Laws of our Country, and the essential Rights of Sovereignty, is what we owe to our Prince, and what by our Saviour's Command we must render to him.

This, I hope, is sufficient for the explication of our Saviour's Answer to the *Pharisees* and *Herodians*; which evidently

ly contains the Doctrine of Obedience and Subjection to Princes, enforced on us by the Authority of our Saviour himself.

Having seen what the Doctrine of our Saviour was, let us now consider his *Practice*: And we need not doubt, but our Saviour lived as he preached. He taught his Disciples by his Example, as well as by his Laws. His Life was the best Comment upon his Sermons; was a visible Lecture of Universal Righteousness and Goodness; and it is impossible to conceive a more perfect and absolute example of *Subjection* and *Non-Resistance*, than our Saviour has set us.

When our Saviour appeared in the World, the Jews were very weary of the *Roman Yoke*, and in earnest expectation of their *Messias*, who, as they thought, would restore the Kingdom again unto *Israel*; and this expectation of their *Messias*, whom they mistook for a Temporal Prince, made them very apt to joyn with any one, who pretended to be the *Messias*, and to rebel against the Roman Government. Such most likely were *Theudas* and *Judas of Galilee*, of whom we have mention, *Act*. 5. 36, 37. and it is not impossible, but the *Egyptian*, who led 4000 men into the Wilderness, *Act*. 38. either pretended to be the *Messias*, or some fore-runner of him: to be sure, such were those *false Christs*, and *false Prophets*, of whom our Saviour warns his Disciples, *Mat*. 24. 23. *Then if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there; believe him not.*

This being the temper of the *Jewish Nation* at that time, so extremely inclined to Seditious and Rebellion against the *Roman Powers*, how easie had it been for our Saviour, had he pleased, to have made himself very potent and formidable? How easie could he have gained even the Scribes and Pharisees to his party, (whose great quarrel was at his meanness and poverty) would he once have declared himself a Temporal Prince, and invaded the Throne? But he was so far from this, that when he perceived the people had an intention to take him by force, and make him a King, he withdrew himself privately from them, and departed into a Mountain himself alone, *John*. 6. 15. and yet I presume there might have been as many plausible pretences to have justified a Rebellion then, as ever there were in any Nation since. He had at that time led five thousand men besides

besides women and children, with five barley loaves, and two small fishes: and what a formidable Enemy would he have been, who could victual an Army by Miracles, and could, when he pleased, conquer by the same miraculous Power also? This the people, whom he had miraculously fed, were very sensible of, and did hence conclude, That he was the Prophet that should come into the World, and that it was time to take him, and set him upon the Throne: But though our Saviour was indeed the *Messias*, yet he was not such a *Messias*, as they expected; he was not a Temporal Prince, and therefore would not countenance their Rebellion against *Cesar*, though it were to make himself a King.

It is sufficiently known, That Christ submitted to the most unjust Sentence, to the most ignominious and painful death, rather than resist the *Higher Powers*, though he could so easily have called for Legions of Angels to his rescue; but he went as a lamb to the slaughter, and as the sheep before the shearer is dumb, so he opened not his mouth: when he was reviled, he reviled not again: when he suffered, he threatened not, but committed himself to him who judgeth righteously. He rebuked Peter when he drew his Sword in his defence, and tells *Pilate* the reason why he was so easily apprehended, and used at their pleasure, without any resistance and opposition, though he had been formerly attended with such crowds of his Disciples; because he was no Temporal Prince, and therefore did not require his Disciples to fight for him, as other Temporal Princes used to do.

*Jesus answered, my Kingdom is not of this World: if my Kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now is my Kingdom not from hence,* Joh. 18. 36. Which plainly shews, That our Saviour's subjection was not matter of force and constraint, because he wanted power to resist; but it was matter of choice, that which was most agreeable to the nature of his Kingdom, which was not to be propagated by carnal Weapons, but by Suffering and Death.

And when our Saviour has set us such an Example as this, it is wonderful to me, that any, who call themselves his Disciples, can think it lawful to rebel against their Prince, and defend themselves from the most unjust Violence, by a more unjust Resistance. But there are few men, who are contented

ted to follow Christ to the Cross; they do not like that part of his Example, and are willing to perswade themselves, that they are not bound to imitate it. And there are two things which I find urged by some men to this purpose, which must be briefly considered.

1. That it is no wonder, that Christ suffered patiently and quietly, without resisting the most unjust Violence, because he came into the World to die, and to make his Soul an Offering for Sin. And how could so innocent a person die, but by the Hands of *Unjust and Tyrannical Powers*? And it was inconsistent with his Design of dying for Sin, to resist and oppose. This is the account our Saviour himself gives of his patient suffering. When St. Peter drew his Sword in his defence, he tells him, *Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve Legions of Angels? But how then shall the Scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be?* Mat. 26. 43, 54. *And the Cup which my Father has given me, shall I not drink it?* John 18. 11.

Having thus concluded what the Doctrine and Example of our Saviour was, about subjection to the higher Powers, let us now consider the Doctrine and Example of his Apostle St. Paul; not as if the Authority and Example of our Saviour were not sufficient, of it self, to make a Law, but stood in need of the Confirmation and additional Authority of his own Apostles; but we might justly suspect our selves mistaken in the Meaning of our Saviour's words, or in the Intention and Design of his Sufferings, had none of his Apostles, who were immediately instructed by him self, and acquainted with the most secret Mysteries of this Kingdom, ever preacht any such Doctrine as this, of *Subjection to Princes*. And therefore to give you the more abundant assurance of this, I shall plainly shew you, That the Apostles taught the same Doctrine, and imitated the Example of their Master. St. Paul has as fully declared himself in this matter, as it is possible any Man can do by words, Rom. 13. 1, 2. *Let every Soul be subject unto the higher powers, for there is no power but of God: the powers that be, are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation.*



This is a very exprefs Testimony againſt Reſiſtance, and therefore I ſhall conſider it at large; for there have been various Acts uſed to pervert every word of it and to make this Text ſpeak quite contrary to the Deſign and Intention of the Apoſtle in it: and therefore I ſhall divide the words into three general parts. 1. The Doctrine the Apoſtle inſtructs them in: *Let every ſoul be ſubject to the higher powers.* 2. The reaſon why he proves and forces this Doctrine: *For there is no power but of God; the powers that be, are ordained of God. Whoſoever therefore reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God.* 3. The Punishment of ſuch Reſiſtance: *And they that reſiſt, ſhall receive to themſelves Damnation.*

1. I ſhall begin with the Doctrine; *That every Soul muſt be ſubject to the higher powers.* And here are three things to be explained: 1. Who are contained under this general expreſſion of *every ſoul*. 2. Who are meant by the *higher Powers*. 3. What is meant by being *ſubject*.

1. Who are contained under this general expreſſion of *every ſoul*, which by an ordinary Hebraiſm, ſignifies *every man*; for Man is a compounded Creature of Body and Soul, and either part of him is very often in Scripture put for the whole. Sometimes Fleſh, and ſometimes Soul ſignifies the Man; and when *every ſoul* is oppoſed to the *higher powers*, it muſt ſignify all Men, of what Rank or Condition ſoever they be, who are not inveſted with this higher Power. Popes and Biſhops, and Biſhops and Priests, as well ſpiritual as ſecular perſons; the whole Body of the people, as well as every ſingle Individual: for, when every Soul is commanded to be ſubject, without any exception or limitation, this muſt reach them in all capacities and conditions.

The deſign of the Apoſtle, as you ſhall hear more preſently, was to forbid all Reſiſtance of Sovereign Princes; and had he known of any men, who might lawfully reſiſt, he ought not to have expreſſed it in ſuch general terms, as to forbid all without exception. Had St. Paul known the Prerogative of St. Peter, and his Succeſſors the Biſhops of Rome, would he have written to the Chriſtians of Rome, to be ſubject to their Emperors, without making any provision for the greater Authority of their Biſhops?

The

The reason he assigns why every soul must be subject to the higher Powers, is, Because *all powers are of God*; so that whosoever is bound to be subject to God, must be subject to their Prince, who is in God's stead. And this, I think, will reach the Pope of *Rome*, as well as any private Christian; unless he will pretend to have more Authority on Earth than God himself has; for the Prince has God's Authority, and therefore cannot be resisted, but by a greater Authority than God's. And, by the same reason, if the whole Body of the people be subject to God, they must be subject to their Prince too, because he acts by God's Authority and Commission. Were a Sovereign Prince the Peoples Creature, that might be a good Maxim: *Rex major singulis, sed minor universis*; that the King is greater than any particular Subject, but less than All together: but if he be God's Minister, he is upon that account as much greater than All, as God is.

And that the whole Body of the People, all together, as well as one by one, are equally concerned in this Command, of being subject to the *Higher Powers*, is evident, from this consideration: That nothing less than this will secure the Peace and Tranquility of Human Societies: The Resistance of single persons is more dangerous to themselves than to the Prince, but a powerful Combination of Rebels is formidable to the most puissant Monarchs. The greater number of Subjects rebel against their Prince, the more too they distress his Government, and threaten his Crown and Dignity, and his Person and Authority be sacred, the greater the Violence is which is offered to him, the greater is his Crime.

Had the Apostle exhorted the *Romans* after this manner: Let no private and single man be so foolish, as to rebel against his Prince, who will be too strong for him; but if you can raise sufficient Forces to oppose against him; if you can all consent to depose or murder him, this is very innocent and justifiable, nay, an Heroical Achievement, which becomes a free born people: How would this secure the Peace and Quiet of the World? How would this have agreed with what follows, That Princes are advanced by God, and that to resist our Prince, is to resist the Ordinance of God, and that such men shall be severely punished for it, in this World or the next? For, can the Apostle be thought absolutely to condemn Resistance, if he makes

makes it only unlawful to resist, when we want power to conquer? Which yet is all that can be made of it, if by every soul, the Apostle means only particular men, not the united force and power of the Subjects.

Nor can there be any Reason assigned, why the Apostle should lay so strict a Command on particular Christians, to be subject to the higher Powers, which does not equally concern whole Nations; for if it can ever be lawful for a whole Nation to resist a Prince, it may, in the same circumstances, be equally lawful for a particular man to do it. If a Nation may conspire against a Prince, who invades their Rights, their Liberties, or their Religion, why may not any Man, by the same Reason, resist a Prince, when his Rights and Liberties are invaded? It is not so safe and prudent indeed, for a private man to resist, as for great and powerful numbers; but this makes Resistance only a Matter of Discretion, not of Conscience: If it be lawful for the whole Body of a Nation to resist in such Cases, it must be equally lawful for a particular man to do it; but he does it at his own peril, when he has only his one single force to oppose against his Prince. So that our Apostle must forbid Resistance in all or none; for, single persons do not use to resist or rebel, or there is no great danger to the Publick if they do; but the Authority of Princes, and the Security of publick Government, is only endangered by a Combination of Rebels, when the whole Nation, or any considerable part for numbers, power, and interest, take Arms against their Prince.

If Resistance of our Prince be a sin, it is not the less, but the greater sin, the greater, and the more formidable, the Resistance is; and it would very much unbecome the Gravity and Sacredness of an Apostolical Precept, to enjoin subjection to private Christians, who dare not, who cannot resist alone, but to leave a powerful Combination of Rebels at liberty to resist: so that every Soul, must signify all Subjects, whether single or united: for, whatever is unlawful for every single person, considered as a Subject, is unlawful for them all together; for the whole Nation is as much a Subject to the higher Powers, as any single man.

Thus—

## A Defence of the Allegiance

Thus I am sure it is in our Government, where *Lords and Commons* assembled in *Parliament* own themselves the Subjects of the *King*, and have by publick Laws disclaimed all Power of raising any *War*, either *offensive* or *defensive* against the *King*.

Having heard what *St. Paul's* Doctrine was, let us now consider what *St. Peter* taught about this matter : he had as much reason to learn this Lesson as any of the Apostles, our Saviour having severally rebuked him for drawing his Sword against the lawful Powers, as you have already heard. And indeed his rash and intemperate zeal in this Action cost him very dear ; for we have reason to believe, that this was the chief thing, that tempted him to deny his Master. He was afraid to own himself to be his Disciple, or that he had been in the Garden with him ; because he was conscious to himself, that by drawing his Sword, and smiting the Servant of the *High-Priest*, he had incurred the penalty of the Law, and had been discovered, could expect nothing less, but to be severely punish'd for it, it may be to have lost his Life for his resistance. And indeed, this has very often been the fate of those men, who have been transported with a boistrous and intemperate Zeal to draw their Swords for their Master and his Religion, against the lawful Powers, that they commonly deny their Master, and despise his Religion, before they put their swords up again.

But *St. Peter* having, by our Saviour's Reproof, and his own dear-bought Experience, learnt the Evil of Resistance, never drew his Sword more, and took great care to instruct Christians, not to do so ; 1 *Per.* 2. 13, 14, 15, 16. *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of Man, for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the King, as supreme ; or unto Governours, as to them that are sent by him, for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well. For so is the will of God, that with well-doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men. As free, and not using your liberty as a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God.*

This is the very same Doctrine which *St. Paul* taught the *Romans* : Let every soul be subject to the higher powers ; for the same word is used in the Original, and therefore to submit, and to be subject, is the same thing, which, as *St. Paul* tells us, signifies *Non-Resistance* ; only *St. Paul* speaks of not resisting the

*Higher*

*Higher Powers*; that is, Emperors and Sovereign Princes, herein including all those who act by their Authority; *S. Peter*, to prevent all Cavils and Exceptions, distinctly mentions both, That we must submit to all humane Power and Authority, not only to the *King as Supreme*, that is, in *St. Paul's* phrase, to the *Higher Powers*, to all Sovereign Princes, who are invested with the supreme Authority; but also to those who are sent by him, who receive their Authority and Commission from the Sovereign Prince.

*St. Paul* tells us at large, That *all Power is of God*, and that the power is the Minister of God; and he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and therefore we must needs be subject, not only for Wrath, (that is, for fear of being punished by Men) but also for Conscience sake, out of reverence to God, and fear of his Judgment. This *St. Peter* comprises in one word, which includes it all: *Submit your self to every Ordinance of Man, for the Lord's sake*: for, How is God concerned in our Obedience to Princes, if they be not his Ministers, who are appointed and advanced by him, and act by his Authority, and if it be not his Will and Command that we should obey them? and therefore he adds, *For this is the will of God, that with well-doing*, (that is by obedience and subjection to Princes) ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men; that is, that you may put to silence those foolish men, who ignorantly accuse you, as fond of Changes, and troublesome and dangerous to Government. But then, *St. Peter* observing, that Christian Liberty was made a pretence for Seditions and Treasons, he cautions them against that also; *As free, but not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness*; that is, to cover and excuse such wickedness as Rebellion against Princes, but as the servants of God: You must remember whatever Freedom Christ has purchased for you, he has not delivered you from Obedience and Subjection to God; you are His servants still, and therefore must be subject to those, who receive their Power and Authority from God, as all Sovereign Princes do.

This is as plain, one would think, as words can make it; but nothing can be so plain, but that Men, who are unwilling to understand, and who set their wits on work to avoid the force and evidence of it, may be able to find something to say, to de-



ceive themselves, and those who are willing to be deceived : and therefore it will be necessary to consider what false Colours some men have put upon these words, to elude and baffle the plain scope and design of the Apostle in them.

As, first, they observe, that St. *Peter* calls Kings and subordinate Governours an Ordinance of Man, or a human Creature, and from hence they conclude, that Kings are only the *Peoples Creatures* ; they are made by the people, and receive their Power from them, and therefore are accountable to them if they abuse their Power. In answer to this, we may consider,

1. That this Interpretation of St. *Peter's* words, is a direct contradiction to St. *Paul*, who expressly asserts, That there is no power but of God, the powers that be, are ordained of God ; but, according to this Exposition of *Human Creature*, or the Ordinance of Man, there is no power of God, but all power is derived from the people. Kings and Princes may be chosen by Men, as it is in *Elective Kingdoms*, and as it was at that time in the *Roman Empire*, but they receive their power from God : and thus St. *Paul*, and St. *Peter* may be reconciled. But to affirm, That St. *Peter* calls Kings an Ordinance of Man, because they receive their power and Authority from Men, is an irreconcilable contradiction to St. *Paul*, who affirms, That they receive their power from God ; That they are God's, and not the peoples Ministers. Now, though St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* did once differ upon a matter of Prudence, it would be of ill consequence to Religion, to make them differ in so material a Doctrine as this is ; and yet there is no way to reconcile them, but by expounding St. *Peter's* words, so as to agree with St. *Paul's* ; for St. *Paul's* words can never be reconciled with that sense which these men give of St. *Peter's* ; and that is a good Argument to me, that is not the true interpretation of St. *Peter* ; for I verily believe, that these two great Apostles did not differ in this point.

2. St. *Peter* exhorts them to submit to every Ordinance of Man, for the Lord's sake ; which plainly signifies, that whatever hand Men may have in modelling Civil Governments, yet it is the Ordinance of God.

Ordinance of God, and Princes receive their power from him. For it is no act of Disobedience to God, to resist our Prince, nor of Obedience to God to submit to him, if he does not derive his power from God; and act by his Authority and Commission; especially in such cases, when he opposes the Government of God, and the Interest of Religion; and oppresses not only God's Creatures, but his most faithful and obedient People, who are his peculiar care and charge: In such cases as these, if Princes do not receive their power from God, they are opposite and rival-powers, and we can no more submit to them for God's sake, than we can submit to a Rebel, for the sake of ----- that is, out of Duty and Loyalty to our Natural Prince. And therefore, when the Apostle exhorts them, for God's sake, to submit to their King, he plainly supposes what St. Paul did particularly express, That Kings receive their power from God, and therefore are God's Ministers, even when they abuse their power; and he that resists, resists the Ordinance and Authority of God.

3. But suppose we should grant, That when St. Peter calls Kings the Ordinance of Man, he means, That they receive their Power and Authority from Men; yet I cannot see what good this will do them; for he plainly disowns their consequence, That therefore Princes are accountable to the people, as to their Superiors, and may be resisted, deposed, and brought to condign punishment, if they abuse this power; as will appear from these two Observations.

1. That He gives the King the Title of *Supreme*, who is above them all, and is invested with the supreme and sovereign power. Now, the supreme power, in the very notion of it, is irresistible and unaccountable; for otherwise it is not supreme, but subject to some superiour Jurisdiction; which, it is evidently known, the *Roman Emperors*, of whom the Apostle here speaks, were not. And,

2. That he requires Subjection to this Human Ordinance; which, as appears from St. Paul, signifies *Non-Resistance*: so that tho' we should grant, that the King derives his Power from the people, yet, it seems, God confirms and establishes the Crown on his Head, and will not suffer people to take it off again, when they please.

*A Seasonable Admonition to our new Dissenters.*

LET us have a care of our Zeal, that we may not mistake an earthly Fire, which burns and consumes, for that Divine and harmless flame, which is kindled at God's Altar. A true Zeal for Religion is nothing more, nor less, than such a hearty Love for it, as makes us very diligent in the practice of it our selves, and very industrious to promote the knowledg and practice of Religion in the World, by all lawful and prudent means. A true Christian Zeal will not suffer us to transgress the strict bounds of our Duty to God, or of our Duty to Men, especially to *Kings and Princes*, whatever flattering prospect of Advantage it may give. To lye, to forswear our selves, to hate and revile each other; to reproach and libel Governours in Church and State; to stir up or countenance, with the least thought, any seditious practices against the King or Government, is not a Zeal for God, nor for Religion; for, *this Wisdom is not from above, but is earthly, sensual, and devilish*; for where Strife and Contention is, there is Confusion, and every evil work. Let us be wary how we begin to entertain, or to whisper our Discontents; how we begin to listen to *Suspitions* of our *Prince*, or of his Government, and to hear with pleasure any scandalous stories or reflections on either.

*GOD, of His infinite Mercy, preserve our King and Queen, and these Kingdoms, our Liberties, Laws, and Religion, from the wicked Conspiracies of all our Enemies.* Which is the last thing I shall recommend to you, to praise God for his Preservation of our King hitherto, and earnestly beg, that the same Providence would still watch over him for the time to come. Let us bless God, and let us honour our King, and receive him with Joy and Thanksgiving, as a new Gift and Present from the hands of God. When we are heartily thankful for the Mercies we have already received, this will make our Prayers more effectual for the continuance of them.

O Lord, save the King and Queen, who putteth their Trust in thee; send them help from thy Holy Place, and evermore mightily defend them: let their Enemies have no advantage against them, nor the Wicked approach to hurt them. Which God of His infinite Mercy grant, through our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom, with the Father, &c.

FINIS.